Vol. VIII. No. 1 JAN.—MAR., 1959.

TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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The Tamil Development and Research Council

THE EDITOR

The constitution of the Madras State Tamil Development and Research Council is a great step forward in equipping and modernising Tamil for the purposes of functioning in a democracy. We congratulate the Minister for Education on having convened such a select and representative body and on having incorporated aims the realisation of which should usher in a new era for the Tamil language and literature as well as for other branches of Tamil studies. The aims are so purposive that a new impetus will be given to works in Tamil in such neglected fields as archaeology, social anthropology, economics, education and other social sciences. These studies will be rendered still more necessary and of permanent value as Tamil becomes progressively the medium of instruction at the University level and the official language functioning in all aspects of civic life.

Such functions of the Development and Research Council as have been outlined, range from the study of the pre-history of Tamil Nad and the publication of inscriptions and old manuscripts to an increase of literary productions of interest to children and neo-literates. The Council envisages also a programme of new publications which will add considerably to reference literature and to other fields of contemporary and topical relevance. A wide range of activities is again included in the provision : " To take such other measures as are necessary to develop the Tamil language and to spread its use as a vehicle for all transactions both in the educational and other fields ".

Broadly speaking, any activity which professes to develop the Tamil language must be related to contemporary needs and problems, since a language is a social factor which is never developed in a vacuum irrespective of the people which speak it and the contemporary social and civic uses which it serves. There is need for Tamil to become increasingly an effective instrument for the expression of modern thought and modern needs, and we would urge the Research Council to see to increasing the output in the Tamil medium of solid and basic literature in Politics, Government, Economics, Social and Industrial Psychology and Education. The vast body of Tamil literature which we have inherited, while representative of admirable humanistic traditions, was the creation of a leisured class for leisurely periods. Today the various ramifications of societal interest need a great number of other studies which will make contemporary life and citizenship meaningful and happy. These studies meant for the Tamil public cannot be mere translations of foreign classics and foreign text-books. The translations of foreign standard classics are necessary for the understanding and inter-change of human thought, but can have only a complementary value to original books which should be written for the Tamil reader by those with an understanding of the Tamil background and the present literature available in Tamil.

Such original works are also necessary if lecturing in Tamil at University level is to be done without any loss of standards. The immediate need while introducing College lectures in the Tamil medium is to provide the undergraduate with a reasonable number of Tamil books in each subject so that they cover his field as widely as possible, even though he is expected to have recourse to English books in the same field to broaden his acquaintance with his subject and have a wider background than can be provided for him immediately in Tamil.

Literary productions for school and college, and for adult education conceived as a life-long process of self-

realisation and self-development will need considerable educational research to precede and direct them. The literary productions and text-books should be graded, should respond to the interests and activities of the age group for which they are intended, and should stimulate creativity. When we consider the advances made in the pedagogical sciences and the small extent to which the results of experiments and research have been utilised in the educational literature in Tamil, we feel a more realistic and modernised approach should be made to deliver education from the stereotypes to which it is a prey unless research and vision can direct its activities with due regard to social changes and social needs.

We place great hopes in the future activities of the Tamil Development and Research Council. Hence we give elsewhere the complete text of the Government Order* constituting the Council. Its activities will not only benefit Madras State, but also other countries like Ceylon, Malaya, Mauritius and South Africa where Tamil functions as a medium of education and civic life.

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* Madras Government's Order, G.O. Ms. No. 297 Education dated the 16th February 1959—published under News and Notes in this issue (*Page* 59).

A Dravidian from Spain*

P. JOSEPH

That is what he used to call himself not only in private talk, but even on the public platform. He pandered, however, to no racial revivalism; nor had he any linguistic axe to grind. He merely spotlighted an anthropological problem comprising a vast area, extending across three continents from India to the British Isles, along western Asia, northern Africa and southern Europe.

The late Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., the eminent historian, who, born in Spain, made India his adopted motherland was in the line of Nobili and Beschi, Caldwell and Pope in his service for Dravidiana. But there was one essential characteristic in which he differed. Whereas they made their studies a more or less obvious vehicle to convey their particular doctrine, he, though a missionary like them, hardly ever allowed his historical perspective to be clouded by any overtones of dogma.

As one who helped in his attempt to decipher the Indus Valley script I came, perhaps, in a little closer contact than some other students. That contact started in mid-June 1935 when a young man from Tamilnad, clad in quite the orthodox manner, arrived at the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. The welcome he received and the subsequent arrangements made for his stay in the *urbs prima in Indis,* to which he was a total stranger, left an indelible mark on his mind. They were evidence of a large-hearted humanity, that reached out to everyone in need of help, encouragement or sympathy.

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* Four years ago, Indology in general and the study of Indus Valley Civilisation in particular suffered a grievous loss in the death of Rev. Father H. Heras, S.J. In memory of that eminent historian, who died before he could complete the publication of his researches in the decipherment of the Indus Valley Script, we publish in this issue this brief sketch of his work by a former student and collaborator.

REV. FATHER H. HERAS, *S. J.*

During nearly 15 years of association I had watched Fr. Heras pore over tome after tome of sources, ranging from archaeological reports to photographic albums of unpublished steatite seals, and amass literally a cart-load of material, which subsequently was sorted out and bundled into neat packets, comprising the groundwork of different topics to be discussed in his monumental work, "Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Studies". His industry was amazing. All the available time, apart from what was set aside for religious duties, was devoted mainly to one interest,—the *magnum opus.* It ultimately grew into such an all-consuming passion that he seemed to have no other topic even of ordinary conversation. His jokes too had a proto-Indian or a proto-Mediterranean flavour. Even at night he seemed to have thought of nothing else, for more than once he told me that he had stumbled on the solution of a ticklish problem in his sleep ! This magnificent obsession resulted in the addition of hundreds of volumes to the library. For a glimpse of ancient Dravidian society he acquired the Tamil Sangam works. For a grasp of the near-eastern and Mediterranean cultures he gathered all the available material on the excavations conducted at Persian, Mesopotamian, Anatolian, Palestinian, Egyptian, Cretan, Aegean, Italian, Iberian, French, British and Irish sites. These source books together with the works of several authors in many European and Indian languages on the various topics the vast study gave rise to make the library of the Indian Historical Research Institute one of the best, if not the best, equipped in India on proto-Indo-Mediterranean culture. The bibliography at the beginning of Vol. I of "Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Studies" no doubt gives an idea of the vast erudition that has gone into its compilation. But I happen to know definitely that many books consulted were not mentioned for the reason that they had no direct bearing on the subject. Were these books also taken into account, the amount of reading that has been put in staggers the imagination.

As mentioned at the outset, the upshot of his long research was the conviction regarding the basic racial unity of the whole region from India to Eire along a huge fertile crescent. The similarities between the Indus Valley, Sumerian, Egyptian, Cretan, Aegean, Etruscan, Iberian and Druidic (British and Irish) civilisations were too numerous and too fundamental to be accounted for by anything short of ethnic homogeneity ; commercial contact alone cannot provide sufficient explanation. While discussing the name of the wide-spread race, he shocked philological purists and orthodox pundits alike with the bold equation : Dravida = Druid = Dramila = Termiloi = Trmmli = Tamil, signifying ' sons of the sea ' ; these variations of the same name—an apter could hardly have been found—were applied to the same people at different times and in different climes along the Arabian, Mediterranean and Atlantic sea-boards. He had few equals in perceiving general trends as against individual peculiarities. There are plenty of experts, no doubt, on the culture of each region within the aforesaid crescent, but not many who can correctly assess the large cultural patterns pervading the whole area. Their perspective as specialists is restricted and in their preoccupation with the trees they often lose sight of the wood. The very fact that he was not a mere specialist in any particular field was his greatest asset ; he could thus command a wider vision of the panorama that unfolded itself before his mind's eye than he would have been otherwise able to do.

Another result of his study was the smashing of the Aryan myth. Overwhelming proof came to hand to the effect that the Aryan, a grand extrovert and an uncouth brawny nomad with superior weapons of destruction, blazed a trail of fire and pillage wherever he went, until he was civilised by the brainier man whom he had subjugated. Then, exercising his shrewdness, he seized the opportunity offered by circumstances to pass off the wonderful things he found—unprecedented material pros-

perity, excellent literature, highly developed philosophy and advanced religious system—as his own. There was nothing to stop him. The conquered could do nothing about it. And thus started the biggest historical hoax, which it has taken nearly four millennia to expose. Fr. Heras was quite convinced that in Vedic and Puranic literature there is vast non-Aryan and pre-Aryan material. He firmly believed that for a proper assessment of proto-Indian culture one should master not only the Dravidian languages but also Sanskrit. For lack of this combination the study of Indian pre-history has grievously suffered.

His uncanny knack of estimating the archaeological possibilities of a site or a region would do credit to a professional digger. Once he acquired a few steatite seals from the neighbourhood of Prabhaspatan in Kathiawar. After studying them he confidently predicted the extension of Harappa culture to Kathiawar-Gujarat. The later findings in forty odd sites and particularly at Lothal are indeed a magnificent confirmation of his forecast. This anticipation is easily on a par with the faith that goaded R. D. Banerji to keep on excavating right under the base of a Buddhist stupa till he laid bare one of the grandest civilisations of the ancient world. To talk of forecast and faith in archaeological matters may seem rather unscientific: but the skilled investigator is one who makes the shrewdest guesses. After all any enquiry starts from a plausible theory, based on available data to be confirmed by subsequent findings. In propounding hypotheses Fr. Heras was way ahead of the ordinary run of researchers.

Ancient Indian history was not the only field on which his interest was focussed. His religion too laid claim to his time; but his Indian cultural training had a clear bearing on the religious topics he discussed. He felt Indian Catholicism had a too obvious foreign stamp. He, therefore, advocated to his clerical brethren the desirability of going back to the days of Nobili and Beschi in the matter

not only of presenting religion but even of dress. He called for churches, statues and paintings in the classical Indian modes. Not many of his calling could reconcile themselves to this unpopular approach. In some quarters he raised a veritable hornets' nest. The most vocal critic was an Irishman, who began " pulverising the professor " with the heavy-headed hammer of sarcasm. But the latter was not easily browbeaten. He hit back, wondering if the outpourings were due to " tropical heat or Irish wit ". The argument went on for a while. It was all in good fun, neither yielding ground. But the higher ecclesiastical authorities—so rumour had it—intervened to put a stop to what might have seemed to the layman an unseemly clerical controversy.

In nothing that he dealt with could he support the popular point of view. He could never toe the line ; his independence was too sturdy for that. Whether it was Vijayanagar history or Gandhara school of art or Aśoka's religion or Indian pre-history or even his own religious sphere, he was the *enfant terrible.* It is really inspiring to hark back to his example at the present day, when historians' efforts are so heavily weighted with the political mill-stone that one feels the need of a timely warning.

His profoundest grief must have been that he could not finish the work he began, one on which he had spent well-nigh two decades. He saw out of the press only the first volume of " Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Studies ". But enough material had been collected for at least two more volumes. All lovers of Dravidian antiquities fervently hope that those who now guide the destinies of Fr. Heras' Institute of Indian History and Culture—aptly rechristened after the founder—will make adequate arrangements for the early appearance of the subsequent volumes. That would, indeed, be the most fitting monument to his hallowed memory.

Social Challenges in India Today

H. A. POPLEY

India is today on the march forward in all spheres of life and activity. Since 1947 when India achieved her political freedom and was able to go ahead unhampered by the shackles and prejudices of a foreign overlordship, she has been able to achieve through her five-year plans many objectives which before were only dreams and fancies in the minds and imaginations of some of her leaders. Especially in industry has there been a striking and spectacular advance. She is today manufacturing all the iron sheets which she needs and she has already produced her 100th locomotive. Her factories are turning out machine tools, without which any industrial advance is impossible. She is also making ships in her dockyards comparable to the ships she used to buy from England and Europe. She is also manufacturing many drugs including penicillin and so has been able to stop the import of these drugs from the West and so to save considerable foreign exchange.

These are but a few of the directions in which India has been able to forge ahead under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and to pass from the tenth century straight to the twentieth century and from an agrarian backwater of Imperial rule to a vivid and exhilarating ocean of forward-going discovery. In the space of ten short years she has become one of the leading industrial nations of the East, almost rivalling Japan in her manufacturing capacity.

While one can be proud of this wonderful advance in a few short years, it is not possible to see the same great advances in the social life and conditions of the people. Much of the social background to this striking industrial

advance still belongs to the old agrarian economy and to the ancient social structure of Indian life. India still lives largely in her villages and many of these do not show a very different picture from what they showed ten years ago. Still it must be said that even in the village life there are changes today in conformity with the large changes that are taking place in the urban life around them. The Village Extension Movement is doing a great deal to bring forward the life and conditions of the village and is helping to create in the village people an eagerness for progress as they see the towns going forward. Many of the villages are definitely on the move forward and are being gradually changed to a new pattern. This is especially true of those villages which have been built to house the workers in the great irrigation projects which are now being constructed. There are also 100,000 villages in India which have passed from the old kerosene oil lamp stage to the electric age and can now use electricity not only for light but also for power for village industries. So we can truly say that today village India is on the move as well as urban India.

This change in India's industrial life and social activities is also found to a great extent in her political activities. While there are still many backwaters of mediaeval ideas and habits, it is a fact that India has passed from a form of autocracy to a new form of political democracy, which is not incomparable with the political democracies of the West. Her ambassadors and statesmen take their places with those of the Western nations and do not lose face in so doing. In the United Nations they even occupy an important position and are often able to find out some via media which is acceptable to all.

But it must be admitted that while there is definite change and progress in social life the same striking changes and advances do not appear in this. There is real change and there is some advance and the tendency of casteism is to decrease its influence, but especially in the villages,

which are usually the last strongholds of orthodoxy, it still exercises its old sway over the lives of people. In the matters of marriage it is very difficult for family traditions to register much change. The villages do not show the same tempo of advance which is found in very many urban centres. Vinobhaji is doing a great deal through the Sarvodaya movement to inspire the villages to go forward and there is some real advance to show for his efforts, but it needs many such Vinobhajis to effect a real change in the traditional patterns of village life. He is a great disciple of Gandhiji and does not rest day or night until he sees changes taking place. As a result of his pilgrimage many hundreds of acres have been given in Bhudan to landless villagers and now he is asking for further giving in the form of sampattidan, buddhidan and gramdan, which are beginning to appear in the villages to which he goes. So some large landholders are giving up their surplus lands on a voluntary basis, which is on the whole much better than forced redistribution.

Sarvodaya stands for a classless society but that idea will not be easily achieved. Even in more advanced countries class has not been altogether rooted out but what has gone are the barriers between classes which prevented members of one class moving into a higher class and there is no doubt that these are gradually being rooted out in India. What we can achieve is a society in which all classes are reckoned as of equal importance and have the same privileges. They will be regarded as of equal value to the work of society and each will have its own contribution to make to the welfare of society. Vinobhaji is anxious to get away from any kind of stratification in which one part of society will always be regarded as on a lower level to others, but this is hardly possible even in a western technological society and may not be desirable in India.

There are three major challenges that challenge such an order of equality today in Indian society. These challen-

ges are all social challenges and are found at all levels of society today. One of them is modern in its whole outreach and one of them goes back to the past with its roots in the ancient conditions of our society. The third is both ancient and modern and has in its challenge factors inherited from both.

We shall first of all consider the challenge which is rooted in our past and draws most of its strength from forces which have been at work in Indian society for centuries. The second challenge comes from a great world movement of the present day which is affecting society in all lands. The third comes from one of the very spheres in which India is making striking progress today and combines tendencies which are both ancient and modern. These three are first, the challenge of communalism; second, the challenge of communism; and third, the challenge of modern education.

The challenge of communalism:

Some people will say that communalism is now slowly dying in the new India and does not now constitute any strong challenge to the new society. But this is hardly true either in towns or in the villages of India and communal tensions and influences are found even among Christians, and they make their presence felt in many ways. There is no doubt that the roots of such communal feelings lie deep in our society and had their origin thousands of years ago. So they need very drastic treatment, if they are to be destroyed or rendered harmless. Dr. E. C. Dewick, a keen and sympathetic observer of Indian life, both today and for many years, said in a recent article, "I am quite convinced that the root of communal tension and strife is a deepseated disease of mind and soul, which if not cured, will turn the blessings of freedom into a curse for India and will make the last state under swaraj worse than the first state under British imperialism."

The roots of communalism must be sought in the ancient caste structure of Indian society. This stretches back into the hoary past and its influence is strong and pervasive in all departments of Indian life even today. The process of urbanisation, only affects about one-fifth of the population of India. In the villages of India, where four-fifths of the people still live and work, the communal bonds and influences are still the most important and influential in their social life and customs. The family is today, as ever, still a part of the communal body and marriages are arranged within this body. Very occasionally do marriages take place outside of the regular communal groups, even among Christians. Mr. P. Chenchiah, a careful and accurate observer of life in South India, wrote recently : "A casteless and classless society is negative. We have to make society positive, an embodiment of new social forces."

There is a good aspect of communalism, namely the fellowship which it helps to achieve of those who share the same social and religious ideals. But we have to beware of such a fellowship becoming exclusive according to the communal pattern, thus leading to stagnation instead of to enrichment of life. Every such fellowship must be open to the influences of other fellowships and of the groups in the outside world. The *Kural* brings out very clearly the need to keep all our windows open in the following two stanzas :

> எப்பொருள் எத்தன்மைத்தாயினும் அப்பொருள்
> மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு. (36:5)
>
> Whate'er it be, whate'er its nature be,
> In that to see the Truth, is knowledge true.

And again,

> எப்பொருள் யார்யார் வாய்க்கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்
> மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பதறிவு. (43:3)
>
> 'Tis wisdom true for men to find the Real
> In whatso'er they hear, from whomsoever heard.

These two stanzas from the greatest book in the Tamil language show clearly that our Dravidian ancestors had no use for an exclusive society which was rigidly cut off from other societies.

Dr. Aggrey, speaking to his fellow Africans said: "My fellow Africans, we are made in the image of God. We must not be deluded and think we are just a bunch of chickens. We are not chickens, but eagles, and so must stretch our wings and fly away."

In the Indian Legislative Assembly, the first legislators took the following pledge: "I dedicate myself to the service of India and to the welfare of her people", and all Congress members have to take an oath not to observe caste in any form. There is no question of any commitment to a particular community or to a segment of the Indian people. While we cannot help, from time to time, considering sections of the community as needing special care and attention, we are led to such conclusions not because of any previous attachment to such a section but because of the need that we find among them. We have to endeavour to consider impartially the needs of the different parts of the whole community, not in terms of our own likings and attachments but in terms of the situation of any special group.

The Indian citizen originally belonged to a village and the village economy naturally tends to colour his attitude to life and to its problems. Dr. P. D. Devanandam in a recent article on 'Community Development' said: "In the village the individual tends to be dominated by and submerged in the needs, aims and conventional social patterns of the family, the caste and the village." Such patterns of life and of society are likely to follow each individual and each family throughout life, even when the family changes from a rural to an urban environment. Such a strict and rigid compartmentalism has persisted

in Indian society for over 2,000 years, because the concepts of karma and dharma, which form the basis of society, are part of the whole plan of salvation for the Hindu, whether as an individual or as a group.

So the challenge of communalism comes to the Indian with a long history and with a powerful stimulus from long and ancient periods of influence. But unless the India of today can resist and meet this challenge and can face the needs of a united India with a unified spirit and sympathy, there is not much hope that India will be able to meet and overcome the many ills that beset her and now thwart her progress. We must either break the power of communalism and move away from all its tentacles, or else communalism will insidiously work its way in our society and prevent India from making the progress which we are all so anxious to see.

The Challenge of Communism :

This is an entirely different challenge from that of communalism. It is a relatively modern challenge and has no strong roots in an ancient past, though it has some roots in early Christianity. " Men make their own history ", says Prof. Guinsberg, but he adds " history also makes men ". Communism is said to have been first organised in the early Christian society when the young Christian community first arose in Jerusalem. At that time a communistic order of life developed among the early Christians. They had all things in common. There was no one in want and no one wealthy.

While such an order of society has developed since from time to time in small groups in the last ten centuries, it has not been anywhere organised on a thoroughgoing and large scale until the Russian Revolution of 1919. This was based on the theories of Marx and has to a considerable extent followed his teaching. While it is not possible to accept all the theories and teachings of Com-

munism those of us who are Christians are bound to acknowledge that some of its principles are true and just, as the Archbishop of Canterbury said, "Russian Communism has expressed some of the fundamental principles of the Christian gospel."

Mahatma Gandhi expressed one truth that Communism emphasised when he said : "Realisation of truth is impossible without a complete merging of oneself in, and identification with this limitless ocean of life. Hence for me, there is no escape apart from it. Social service must be taken to include every department of life. In this scheme there is nothing low, nothing high. For all is one, though we seem to be many." (*Religion and Society,* V, p. 40.)

There are three fundamental ideas in the Communist programme. They are first, the unity of theory and practice ; second, the equal standing of every individual, both legally and economically ; third, the elimination of the profit motive from personal life. The first of these receives lip-service in many religious and social systems. But in Communism there is really a large scale attempt to put it into practice, economically, socially and legally. This, of course, should be the case in every social system, but unfortunately it is often noticed by its absence rather than by its presence. The second principle is found allied with the idea that man is essentially an economic individual and the majority of his aims are fulfilled in economic terms. The spiritual side of man's nature is almost entirely ignored. So it is easier to treat men as equal in all things when they are regarded only as economic units of society.

"Communism is inspired by the desire to create an all-embracing classless society", says one advocate. Another critic wrote, "The attempt to establish economic and social justice for everyone has been a very powerful element in the Russian revolution." (C. N. L., 89.)

The third of the above aims has probably to a large extent been achieved in Russia. The maxim 'To each according to his need and from each according to his capacity' is fulfilled to a great extent among the Russian people today. The whole theory of individual capitalism as exemplified in the United States is repudiated by the Russian leaders. Prof. MacMurray says, "There is only one way to escape from some form of state socialism, maintained by a dictatorship of force, which would destroy freedom and with it individuality, and that is by creating a form of community life which is compatible with the individuality of its members." The *Kural* has some stanzas which imply some form of community egalitarianism :

> தாளான்றித்தந்த பொருளெல்லாம் தக்காங்கு
> வேளாண்மை செய்தற்பொருட்டு. (22:2)
>
> Wealth won by toil, 'mong worthy folk,
> Is meant for doing good.

Also in the following in the chapter on 'Equity' the author brings out the same idea.

> நன்றேதரினு நடுவிகந்தாமாக்கத்தை
> அன்றே ஒழிய விடல் (12:3)
>
> Forsake even in the moment of acquisition
> That gain which tho' it bring advantage is without equity.

The spirit of equity is of much greater value than the motive of profit. In fact there is a great deal in the *Kural* which breathes the spirit of the best in communism. So it should be possible for the Tamil people to meet the challenge of Communism without any difficulty. The sage Tiruvalluvar makes it quite clear again and again that there is no room for atheism in his social teaching. In his very first chapter the poet brings out the essential meaning of Bhakti, as devotion to God, in any social system. I will just quote two such stanzas.

> தனக்குவமை யில்லாதான்தாள் சேர்ந்தார்க்கல்லால்
> மனக்கவலை மாற்றல் அரிது. (1:7)
>
> **'Tis hard to find relief from mental care,**
> **Except by taking refuge at the feet of the Peerless One.**

அறவாழி அந்தணன்தாள் சேர்ந்தார்க்கல்லால்
பிறவாழி நீந்தல் அரிது. (1:8)

Unless men cling to the feet of the gracious Lord, of eightfold worth,
They cannot swim the sea of this earthly life.

Russia, however, has made it imperative for all to face the challenge of Communism and this is specially true of those who live in the countries of the East, in which new movements of thought and society are now revealing themselves. We can accept wholeheartedly the good ideas of Communism and so help to organise the welfare society in these lands and can refuse to accept those ideas which are largely due to ignorance or prejudice and which will produce some form of dictatorship. Tamil culture has faced all such things before and has rejected them.

The dictatorship of the proletariat which Communism has declared to be the only path of the formation of a truly welfare society is opposed to all ideas of democracy and India has definitely set her face against this pernicious doctrine and has chosen the path of a free democracy. Still the danger of Communism getting a hold on many of the Indian masses is a very real danger as the State of Kerala has clearly shown. It is strange that in this State, which has the largest Christian community of any State in India, that Communism should have won the hearts of so many people and with this result facing them it is very necessary that the Indian people should boldly face up to the challenge of Communism and make sure that Indian society is not stagnating in old morasses of the past, as this is the kind of society which falls a prey to Communism. If the Indian leaders do not press forward to meet the great and pressing needs of the present sections of our society in the near future, there is no doubt that many of such people will be tempted by the rash promises which communistic leaders so easily make, however uncertain they may be.

We need to take what is right and just in the communistic system and to put such ideas and programmes into practice in our social life today. Such is the kind of society which Mr. Nehru is endeavouring to create in India today and which he has called 'a socialistic pattern of society'. As Christians we should welcome such a pattern of society, which is closely in touch with the society that Jesus our Master pictured and which aims at the welfare of all the members of the society, both poor and rich, weak and strong.

The Times of London, one of the best daily newspapers in England, said a few years ago concerning this problem :

> 'The New Order cannot be based on the preservation of privilege, whether the privilege of a country, of a class, or of an individual.' (July 14th, 1944)

Pandit Jawaharlal in his *Autobiography* wrote :

> 'Inevitably we are led to the only possible order, first within national boundaries and eventually in the world as a whole, with a controlled production and distribution of wealth for the public good.'

The challenge of modern education :

India is now coming out of a world of widespread illiteracy into a world in which all its peoples will learn to read and write, and so to understand something of the thoughts of others. In another ten years we may hope that all the children of India will know how to read and write and so will have the key by which they can unlock the knowledge which men all over the world have possessed. One of the objectives of the present Government of India in its Five-Year Plans is to make it possible for every child in every village to attend school and so to have the elementary knowledge which everyone should know. At present only about 50% of the people of India are lite-

rate. In some States like Madras and Kerala the percentage is higher, but there are still States where the percentage is only 25. The challenge of education has come home to most of the people of India and especially to all its leaders and they are all seeking ways and means by which they can meet this challenge and obtain education for their children, even though they themselves may be illiterate. Today they all know that a child without education is like a blind man or a one-legged man, of very little value either to himself or to others. They have come to realise that there is no hope in this new India for children who have not got at least elementary education. In the old days it was very difficult in many villages to get children to come and attend school, but today the difficulty is to get the schools for all the children who want to attend and the teachers to teach them.

In Dravidian India it should not be difficult to create a desire for education among the people. All the ancient Tamil ethical and social works stress the value and importance of learning. The *Kural* brings this out very clearly in the first century of our era. The following stanzas may be given as illustrations :

கண்ணுடையர் என்பர் கற்றோர், முகத்திரண்டு
புண்ணுடையர் கல்லாதவர். (40:3)

The learned are those who have eyes,
The unlearned have two sores on their faces.

கேடில்விழுச்செல்வம் கல்வி ஒருவற்கு
மாடல்ல மற்றையவை. (40:10)

Learning is the imperishable riches for all,
All other wealth is not riches.

உளர் என்னு மாத்திரையரல்லால், பயவாக்
களரனையர் கல்லாதவர். (41:6)

The unlearned are like useless barren land,
It can only be said that they exist.

தோணி இயக்குவான் தொல்லை வருணத்துக்
காணில் கடைப்பட்டான் என்றிகழார்—காணாய்
அவன் துணையாவாறுபோய் அற்றே, நூல்கற்ற
மகன் துணையா நல்லகொளல். (நால. 136)

The rower of the boat may be of the lowest caste ; though you know it you will not despise him, when you get on the river. So also esteem him who is learned.

What is the challenge of modern education?

It is the challenge first to understand the world of things and forces which influence humanity; and secondly, it is the challenge to make use of all these for the welfare of humanity. Indian knowledge in the ancient times probed into the secrets of the mind and discovered a great deal which the people of India put to good use in their asramas and various schools and ancient seats of learning. India found out, for example, the secret of the zero sign and learnt how to make use of it in her mathematics. But today we are living in a world in which the atom is being put to use, both destructive and constructive, and the forces within the atom are being revealed and their use in human life has been laid bare. Indian physicians and physiologists found out very much about the human body, but now with the aid of the microscope and the radioactive elements much more is being uncovered, which is going to mean less disease and better health for millions.

This is not a challenge to be fought against but a challenge to be met and made use of in the present day. It offers to us not evils that we must clear away but real goods that we must take hold of and make use of in our present planning. In order that our people make use of this wealth of new knowledge in the right way, it is necessary to organise a universal system of elementary education and ensure the possibility of all boys and girls going forward to higher education in accordance with their ability. They must have the kind of education which will help them to think for themselves and to utilise the tools of knowledge so that in the future they can also do things

for themselves, and make good use both of their brains and their hands. So it is necessary that some form of basic education should be available to every boy and girl in India. Then after they have passed through the elementary school, those who are capable should have the opportunity of passing on to secondary and collegiate education, and even on to university education. It is we today who are challenged to provide education for all these bright young people who are anxious and able to master the sciences of the world and to see that they get full opportunity to do so, however financially handicapped they may be. Tiruvalluvar had some kind of ideal of this sort in view when he said :

> தாளாற்றித் தந்த பொருளெல்லாம் தக்கார்க்கு
> வேளாண்மை செய்தற் பொருட்டு. (22:2)
>
> To show kindness to the worthy is the only object of labouring and acquiring wealth.

Wealth for any merely personal object is not of any real value. It is most important that privilege is not allowed to usurp and seize a dominating position in education.

The society in which we live today is the result of educational influences which were in operation many years ago. Today we are seeing the results of those influences in the lives and careers of the leaders of India. The new education of today is helping to shape the society of tomorrow. So if we are looking forward to creating an egalitarian society in this land, in which all the peoples will have the opportunity to share in the blessings and prizes of this new order, we must now make sure that the young people of all classes are getting the right kind of education to result in that society.

There are three main directions in which we are being challenged in the educational field today. There is first, the challenge of illiteracy in a very great number of the population and especially in the young. It is estimated that at least 30% of the people of India today are illite-

rate and this number is being added to every day. Only when there is a school in every village and when the great mass of adult illiterates are being gathered into night schools for education will it be possible to attack this mighty demon of illiteracy.

Then there is the challenge of women's education, among whom the greatest number of illiterates are found. It is most important that the education of women should be raised to an equality with that for men and that, specialised forms of education for women should be organised and carried forward right up to the university stage.

Then there is the challenge of technological education. This is essential for the progress of India in the future. Thousands of technologists have to be trained so that they may man the various industrial and engineering workshops and schools of the Industrial sector, for the training of such pupils. Dr. K. G. Saidiq in his translation of Dr. Ferret's *The Activity School* writes :

> " India has been left behind and, with a few notable exceptions, continues the old scholastic traditions of teaching which do not take into account the action and creative nature of the child and the forces which are reshaping the modern world."

While this statement was true ten years ago it is not quite so true today, when many of the schools have been converted into basic schools, and there are stirrings everywhere among educationalists to help the child to understand this new world into which he is growing up. " The school must be a place where children can live a life of rich and varied activity, a place of abundant experiencing in an environment that will stimulate them to desirable and wisely directed growth and behaviour " says one educationalist. The *Kural* describing the kind of education needed in its day says,

> உவப்பத்தலைக் கூடி உள்ளப் பிரிதல்
> அனைத்தே புலவர் தொழில். (40:4)

> Scholars should give joy to those they meet,
> And make them think in parting, ' When shall we meet again.'

All such education should be available for the ordinary child and not merely for the children of the privileged classes. This age is the age of the common man and not of special classes. Therefore all new techniques must be tested by whether they benefit the common man and help him to enrich his life and express his personality. One leading educationalist has written :

> " Modern science, when devoted wholeheartedly to the general welfare, has in it potentialities of which we do not yet dream."

On the other hand we have to realise that unless these opportunities are inspired by a noble spiritual purpose, which will embrace the essential welfare of every person it will not be possible to overcome the evil forces which will arise to make use of these very opportunities to enslave and debase men and women. It is always possible for men to reject the good and to choose the evil, as the story of Duryodhana makes clear to us, and in that case the new education instead of bringing to us benefits beyond our dreams will bring upon us evils greater than anything we have ever imagined as possible.

Prof. Karl Mannheim writes that " the crucial factor in modern society is the emergence of new social techniques as the means of influencing human behaviour." Marx showed the dynamic significance of technique in production. It is by means of technique that Russia and other States in Eastern Europe have become totalitarian States. So it is not enough to have the new educational tools and methods, we must make sure that they are inspired with the highest ideals of human welfare so that they do not lead to the debasement of man. The surgeon and the physician are always discovering new techniques for the conquest of disease and for the healing of bodily defects and are making them available to all, but we have known of clever people making use of these techniques for evil purposes. A technique as such is neither moral nor immoral. It is the man that makes use of it who gives to it a moral or immoral character. The story of Jesse

Lazar of the American army who in 1898 allowed himself to be bitten by the mosquitoes which had already sucked at yellow fever patients in Havana and so contracted yellow fever from which he died, shows the dangers which both doctors and patients face when they wish to discover some new way of overcoming disease. Prof. C. Wendt says: "The new society of which both politicians and the common man are beginning to take note, will not come of itself. It must be created by the wisdom, the courage, the self-sacrifice of man." Says one of our old Tamil poets:

உடன் பிறந்தார் சுற்றத்தார் என்றிருக்கவேண்டாம்
உடன் பிறந்தே கொல்லும் வியாதி—உடன் பிறவா
மாமலையிலுள்ள மருந்தே பிணிதீர்க்கும்,
அம்மருந்து போல்வாரும் உண்டு. (மு. 17)

Let us not say that only those born in the family are relations,
Disease is borne in the family and kills.
The balm which cures ills comes from the high hills,
There are men like that balm.

It is those men who live near to God and draw from Him new strength and wisdom who will bring to us the balm that men need to overcome the many ills that have come upon the world in this new atomic age.

In the new India which is coming into existence now before our eyes we shall meet these various challenges and the way that India will develop in the next few years will largely depend upon the way that we meet these challenges. So let us face them with courage and wisdom: Lakshmana Pillai in one of his poems said:

வெள்ளியிலில்லை, தங்கத்திலுமில்லை, நம்மேலெழுச்சி,
உள்ளிய உள்ளத்திலாமே; அதனை ஒழுங்குபெற
ஒள்ளியராக்கி உபகரித்தால் நம்மை ஒள்ளியராய்த்
தெள்ளியர் கொள்ளுவர்; அன்றேல் பதரெனச்செப்புவரே.
(ல.பி. 76)

Our progress is not in gold or silver,
It is in the minds of men.
Only in this way can we become worthy;
Otherwise we shall be as useless chaff.

Popular Religion among the Ceylon Tamils

K. KANAPATHI PILLAI

As in all early civilisations people who inhabited Ceylon in ancient days seem to have worshipped natural phenomena. This is seen even today among the Tamils who form part of Ceylon's population. Rivers, mountains, sun and moon are worshipped by them in some form or other. As in the days of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa trees are also objects of worship. They do not worship trees as they are, but instal an idol of some deity under them and offer worship there. On important days of the year or under some vow to protect them from some pestilence or disease they gather under the trees, decorate them with festoons and garlands of flowers, boil milk-rice and cook other delicacies and offer worship there. Very often there is no particular priest for these kinds of ceremonies ; the elder of the family or an aged and devout man of the village performs the puja. Even today this type of homely worship occur among the Tamils of Ceylon.

A remnant of animal worship also can be observed among them even now. When they want to go through an elephant infested jungle they go to particular spots and offer worship to Gaṇeśa, the idol of whom is invariably installed under a huge tree on the outskirts of the jungle. They break cocoanuts in front of the idol, offer flowers, light camphor and devoutly pray to the deity to save them from any ills that might beset them in the course of their journey through the forest. This phenomenon might be a relic of the times when the ancient Dravidians of India worshipped the elephant. As a matter of fact the Gaṇeśa worship of today may be a relic of such a kind of worship.

The cow is also an object of worship among the Tamils. The day after the Tai-p-poṅkal ceremony in the month of Tai (January-February) is a day sacred to the cows. The cow-pen is swept and decorated; the chief of the house erects a new hearth there and boils milk-rice amidst great pomp and ceremony. In the meanwhile all the cows and bulls in the pen are washed and garlanded; their foreheads are smeared with holy ash, sandal paste and kunkumam. When the ceremonial rice is boiled, it is spread on plantain leaves on the floor along with banana fruits, oil cakes and other eatables specially prepared for the occasion. The chief of the household who officiates in the ceremony then lights camphor in the ceremonial lamp, and all the members of the family stand in awe and respect and worship the cows. After the puja is over the cows are fed with milk-rice and other food-stuffs. Then they are untied and allowed to go wherever they please. That day is a holiday for the cows and bulls.

Worship of cows and bulls is an ancient custom among the Tamils. Cattle was a great asset to the people who inhabited the Marutam land or the agricultural tract; they were treated very kindly by them for the help they rendered to them in their daily vocations of ploughing the fields and threshing the paddy.

Like these animals cobra is also an object of worship. The worship of the cobra or naga is a very ancient one among the Dravidians. The cobra forms an intimate part of the S'iva cult also. It is considered as an ornament of S'iva. Even in the philosophic doctrine of the Yoga, the Kuṇḍalini S'akti is stated to lie coiled like the cobra in the Mūlādhāra; and the chief object of a Yogin is to raise it from its recumbent position and make it rise up to the head by the various practices of the Yogic postures. Naga thus forms a very important part in the S'aiva concept of religion and philosophy.

There are several types of cobras, the best of them all is the King-cobra. This is white in colour and will

never attack anyone unless it is provoked. This type is considered divine and is worshipped by people. The worship of the cobra was prevalent all over India in ancient times. This worship is still predominantly prevalent in Malabar. In Ceylon also there are several temples dedicated to cobras. The cobra temples are called Naga temples and one can find them practically all over Tamil-Ceylon. Even in the parts of Ceylon where Sinhalese live cobra is held in veneration. A Sinhalese man will never injure or kill a cobra. He thinks that one of his ancestors might have been born in this birth as a cobra and as such it should not be harmed. Or perhaps one of the names of Buddha being Naga, the Sinhalese, as he is a Buddhist, thinks as the name is associated with the Blessed One, it should not be harmed in any way. Or it may be that before the spread of Buddhism the Naga cult might have been so widespread all over India and that the veneration the ancients had towards the cobra might be still at the back of the Sinhalese mind even after years of professing Buddhism.

According to the Pali work *Mahāvamsa* and the Tamil work *Maṇimēkalai* there were colonies of the Naga tribe in Ceylon. The colony on the northern part of Ceylon was the predominant one; its name till the early centuries of the Christian era was Nāgadīpa—a fact which testifies that the Nagas lived there. The totem of the Naga people was the cobra and perhaps from those early days the cobra might have held a place of veneration among the Naga people in Ceylon too. That is perhaps the reason why there are small temples dedicated to the cobra in every nook and corner in North Ceylon. There are also big temples dedicated to the cobra. Annual festivals are held in those temples with great pomp and ceremony. Poṅkal festivals are held there. People flock to them in large numbers from different parts of the country. The puja is offered to an image of the cobra. Besides the normal place of worship the most interesting part in the

temple is some corner which is frequented by live cobras. It may be an ant-hill or some secluded spot where they can move about freely without much interruption by people. They are so domesticated that they do not do any harm to the worshippers who frequent the temple. The priest of the temple as well as its worshippers place cups of milk to them to feed.

If by any chance some poisonous insect bites somebody who lives in the neighbourhood of the village where the Naga temple is, he makes vows to the deity; and when the effect of the poison is healed he goes to the temple and makes offerings in fulfilment of the vow. In one village in North Ceylon where a Naga temple exists it is said that no one has died so far of snake poisoning. If by chance a person is bitten by a snake he immediately goes to the temple, takes a lump of earth from the ant-hill there, mixes it with water taken from the sacred tank there and drinks it. He rests in the temple premises for a couple of days praying to the deity. He gets well and goes home.

Another important worship among the Ceylon Tamils is the worship of the Mother Goddess. Mother Goddess is worshipped in the form of Kali, Durga, Cāmunda, Mahamari, etc. The most popular is the Kali form of worship. There are big temples as well as small temples dedicated to this goddess. She is also a house goddess to whom offerings are made in a sacred corner of the house on auspicious days. She is also propitiated on occasions when important events take place in the family. She is looked upon as the guardian of the house who protects the members of the house from every evil that might befall them. Of the big temples dedicated to her, some are officiated by professional Brahman priests according to the Agamic rituals; others are officiated by pūjaris in the old Tamil way. In these temples annual poṅkal feasts are held to the accompaniment of the martial drum which was used

by the ancient Tamils in their wars. Here when the puja is being performed by the pūjari a devotee becomes possessed of the Goddess. In frenzy he runs in front of the drummers and dances to the beat of the drum. To an onlooker this will remind him of the war dances of the ancient Tamil-nad. While he dances people pour pot-fulls of water on his head to appease his frenzy. In this condition he utters oracles and prophesies. When the puja is over the man falls down on the ground and the ceremony is over.

The annual pūja in these temples is called vēḷvi and it takes place usually in the morning of an appointed day of the year. The previous night is a festive occasion. The village folk assemble in the temple premises in large numbers and boil pots of milk-rice ceremoniously. The people who take vows take kāvaḍi. Kāvaḍis come in large numbers throughout the night to the temple to the accompaniment of music and tom-tom. Some people make vows to take karakam. Taking karakam to the temple is an interesting event.

A copper pot is filled with water. A cocoanut is placed on the top of the pot. Then a decorated covering interspersed with bunches of margosa leaves is thatched on the top of the water pot. The man who takes the karakam is charmed by a magician till he becomes possessed of the Goddess. At the same time another magician charms another man and he becomes possessed of the God Bhairava. It is Bhairava who leads the karakam to the temple and protects the devotee from any mishap. When everything is fully prepared the chief magician takes the karakam and places it on the head of the man who is already in a state of frenzy. Then a party of people sounding a small drum called uḍukku sing songs in praise of the Goddess when the karakam wends towards the temple. The man with the karakam on the head dances to the beat of the small drum, while the man possessed with Bhairava dances a little further ahead to the beat of the big drums.

The procession thus moves on to the temple. All through the way pots of water are poured on the head of the man possessed of Bhairava. He shouts in frenzy and makes all kinds of gesticulations. The procession circumambulate the temple. Finally the karakam is emptied into the sea. The devotees then come back to the temple in time to witness the pūja and offer their prayers.

Usually karakams are taken in large numbers in the temples dedicated to Goddess Mahāmāri. Mahāmāri is supposed to be the Goddess who wards off pestilence like small-pox, chicken-pox, measles and other illnesses which are caused by extreme heat. To get the village free from these illnesses people make vows to undergo these ceremonies. If untold distress is caused to the village by the above mentioned diseases they perform a ceremony called kulirthi to the Goddess. The temple is decorated and they pour pots of water, milk, young cocoanut juice and other cooling liquids and bathe the image. Then they have a big festival in which kāvaḍis and karakams take part.

The devi temples are mostly patronised by women and children.

Negatives

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

0 Tamil verbs have a negative voice. It is indicated by two devices: (1) by certain interrogative types and (2) by morphological devices: suffixes and periphrastic formations. The first one is largely psychological. So we are confining our attention to the second.

0.1 There is little accord among our modern grammarians and comparative grammarians about the form and number of the negative suffixes. Their disagreement can be broadly divided into two; (1) on the identification of the suffixes, and (2) their origin. For the present we are limiting ourselves to the former though, we are fully aware of the fact that the latter follows the former to a great extent.

1 In morphemic identification[1] we follow certain elementary procedures one of which is that in the segmentation of a word, no part is left unaccounted. To illustrate this, the word uṇṇaatee: you (sing.) (do) not eat, is segmented as uṇ(ṇ)-stem,-aa- negative suffix and -ee second person singular imperative marker. This segmentation leaves out -t-. This is irregular. Second is, one should be consistent in segmentation unless otherwise indicated. Say, for instance, due to certain reasons one may cut uṇṇaatee as uṇṇ-aat-ee. This should be consistently maintained unless it is explained why one has cut differently in a different place. And the third one is a feeling

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[1] For clarity I have made use of linguistic terms. For those whose daily task does not warrant their keeping up a running familiarity with the neologism occasioned by the rapidly changing field of linguistics, a popular introduction to linguistics which appeared in *Tamil Culture,* Vol. VII No. 2, April 1958, under the caption 'The need for Linguistics' is referred to for a definition of these technical terms.

that language is a patterned whole and the treatment of any part should be in relation to the whole. Isolated analysis will result in contradiction and confusion.

1.1 To a great extent the obscurity in the analysis of the negatives by Caldwell, Jules Bloch and others can be attributed to the neglect of one or the other of the above stated procedures. It is our desire to identify the negative markers on the basis of forms from PuRanaanuuRu,[2] a representative sample of Old Tamil and a spoken dialect of Tamil, the Nanjilnaad Vellala dialect,[3] a representative sample of modern Tamil and compare them with the findings of the above noted pioneers.

2 The following verb classes have negative formation in Tamil. (1) Finite verbs. (2) Verbal participles. (3) Relative participles. (4) Conjugated nouns. (5) Verbal nouns.

2.1 The affirmative and negative finite verb forms are given for each person number or and gender with meaning :

aRinteen - aRiyeen	: I (will) not know	(86-3)
varuveem - vaareem	: We (will) not come	(145-4)
olvai - ollaay	: You (sing.) (will) not agree	(31-6)
tirintiir - tiriyiir	: You (plural) (will) not change	(58-21)
uṇṭanan - uṇṇaan	: He (will) not eat	(184-11)
aṇintanaḷ - aṇiyaaḷ	: She (will) not wear	(242-3)
utavum - utavaatu	: It (will) not be useful	(18-26)
olluvar - ollaar	: They (genderless) cannot	(153-12)
poorppa - pooraa	: They (non-gender) (will) not cover	(141-10)

[2] *PuRanaanuuRu* 4th Edition. Edited by U. V. Saaminaatha Aiyar, 1950. All forms shown in section 2 are taken from the 'Description of the Language of Sangam Classics' now in progress in the Tamil Research Department of the Kerala University.

[3] The Naanjilnaad Vellala dialect is my idiolect. All forms in section 3 are taken from my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Indiana University, U.S.A., 1957.

By now it will be clear that the negative form is different from the affirmative (a) by the absence of tense marker and (b) by the lengthening of the personal marker, consistently in the third person. There are some affirmative third person forms with long vowels as in the negative in PuRanaanuuRu. Further, in the first and second persons the affirmatives and negatives have long vowel person markers. But it should be remembered here that the person markers, long or short, are not in contrast in the affirmative and negative for, in the affirmative they occur after the tense markers and in the negative after the verb stems.

2.11 Now the negative suffix -a- occurs between verb stem and person marker. It has three allomorphs ~ -e- ~ -a- ~ -i- Of which ~ -e- occurs between verb stem and first person marker -e-, ~ -a- occurs between verb stem and third person marker -a- and ~ -i- occurs between verb stem and second person marker -i-. In short, the shape of the succeeding personal marker determines the shape of the preceding negative marker.

2.2 The verbal participial negative form is aRintu — aRiyaatu : without knowing (70-8). Here -aat- the negative suffix occurs between verb stem and verbal participle marker -u-.

2.3 The relative participial negative form is ooṭiya— ooṭaa : (he) who will not run (126-4). The later day form ooṭaata is not frequently found in PuRanaanuuRu. Here also the negative -a- or -aat- occurs between verb stem and relative participial marker -a.

2.4 In the conjugated nouns aṭankiyoor — aṭankaatoor : those who (are) not subdued (35-34) -aat- occurs between verb stem and person marking -oo-. Another segmentation adopted at least in Relative participle marker is uṇṇ + aa + t + a where -aa- is the negative marker and -t- as the past tense marker. In the

clear cases we have seen that negatives of the -aa- type occur only in the place of the tense markers, never before or after them. So if -t- is treated as a past tense marker, it creates a unique situation in which past tense -t- occurs after the negative marker. The absence of present tense negative form like uṇṇaakiRa confirms that the above analysis is not correct. There is yet another segmentation in which -t- is treated as an eḷuttuppeeRu, i.e. an accretion to the original shape of the morph -aa-. Indeed we are very near to this.

2.41 The negative forms of verbal nouns are as follows :

pooRRiyamai : pooRRaamai = the act of not protecting (28-17).

The negative marker is -a- between verb stem and verbal noun marker -amai.

2.411 In verbal participle veruvaa = without any fear (238-2), paṭaa = without any break (103-9) etc., the negative marker is -aa occurring between verb and verbal participle marker θ which is an alternant of -ụ- after negative -aa. -aa also occurs between verb stem and word juncture in the third person : koḷḷaa (92-1) = they (will) not emanate.

2.5 Still there is another set of negative markers occurring after verb stem and person marker. They are al and il. Among the two, al is more frequent in occurrence than il. Before all person markers al and a or its allomorphs alternate freely.

keeḷalam or keeḷeem	: we (will) not hear (76-3)
uḷḷalen or uḷḷeen	: I (will) not think (150-3)
kuuRalan or kuuRaan	: He (will) not speak (239-7)
teeRalai or teeRaay	: You (sing.) (will) not get consoled (102-2)
koḷḷalar or koḷḷaar	: they (genderless) (will) not receive (182-6)

But -al- alone occurs before second person plural -min or before the -maar suffix or before word juncture in the first or second person.

koḷḷanmin (216-5) : don't get (plural)
keeḷanmaar (389-17) : They (genderless) (will) not listen.
peyar-al (3-14) : Let (it) not change.

After verb stem uRu only -aal- occurs before -ka
uR - aal - ka : Let it not pierce (171-13)

Before -iyar and person marker only -il- occurs.
aakiliyar (29-12) : Let you not become

In one instance -il- occurs after tense marker.
poorppittilatu (286-5) : It (non-gender) was not caused to cover

The last one is very frequent in later day literature.

2.6 Yet another way of expressing negation is by the periphrastic formation with alla and illa. Though the stems al and il mean exactly the same as the suffix al and il they are treated separately because of their separate class membership. When stems al or il take another negative suffix they are treated as cases of double negatives meaning a negation; illaa: that which is not having (27-3) for example, is a case of negative stem -il- taking a negative suffix -a- before a Relative participle marker -a.

2.7 Thus in PuRanaanuuRu the negative morpheme -a- has the following allomorphs :

~ -e-, ~ -i-, ~ -a-, ∝ -aat-, ∝ -aa-, ∝ -al-, ∝ -aal, ∝ -il-.

of these eight allomorphs -il- alone occurs after tense markers. All the other seven occur after verb stems.

2.8 This is the pattern which emerges out of the clear forms.

2.9 We have a set of obsolete verbs in Sangam classics of which only a few of them are available in PuRanaanuuRu.

uṇkum	:	We will eat (125-4)
keeṭṭi	:	You (sing.), will hear (289-8)

Other instances found in other Sangam classics are :

uṇku or uṇṭu	:	I will eat
cenRi	:	You (sing.) will go
ceerti	:	You (sing.) will reach
kaṇṭi	:	You (sing.) will see.

They all signify future tense. But the familiar future tense signs -p- -v- or -m- are missing. On the other hand, the familiar past tense signs are here. There is indeed, a problem of segmentation. Tolkaappiar segments ku ṭu tu Ru and kum ṭum tum Rum as first person marking suffixes.[4] But in the second person, he counts -i as the second person marker.[5] What exactly is the position of ṭ, t, R in these second person future forms is not known from his suutras. Of course, the commentators consider them as tense denoting personal markers. Fortunately, these forms have a negative formation which gives a clue to the segmentation.

cenRi - cellaati	:	You (sing.) (will) not go.
kaaṇṭi - kaaṇaati	:	You (sing.) (will) not see.

The negative marker -aat- occurs in the place of future tense markers which are ṭ, t, R and k and u and i are first and second person markers respectively followed by a zero singular marker. Note here the condition of occurrence of -aat-. It is also pertinent here to recall Nannuul suutra 145 where its authors say Ru and tu and Rum and tum signify future and past tenses. It is again this pattern of

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[4] *Tolkaappiam,* Collatikaaram, Naççinaarkkiniyar commentary, Ed. by M. V. Venugopala Pillai, 1941, S. 204 and 205.

[5] *Tolkaappiam* do. S. 225.

occurrence of tense markers in the place of negatives which prevents us from cutting maar or min as m + aar and m + in where m is assigned to future tense because of the forms like keeḷanmaar : they will not listen (389-17) and koḷḷanmin : You (plur.) (do) not have (216-5). Same is the reason for not cutting optative suffix ka into k + a, k denoting future tense because of the availability of forms like uṇṇaRka : You (do) n't eat or please (do) not eat.

3 In spoken Tamil periphrastic formation with stem illai, maat-, kuud- and veeṇḍ- are frequent. The first is made use of in expressing negation of past and present indicative verbs.

saappiṭṭaan : saappiḍavillai : He (did) not eat
tuungugiRaan : tuungavillai : He (has)n't slept.

For negatives of the future indicative verbs maaṭ- is used.

tuunguvaan : tuungamaaṭṭaan : He (will) not sleep.

But the use of maaṭ- is restricted to gender singular or genderless plural only. For non-gender singular or plural the suffix form is made use of.

tuungum : tuungaadu : It (will) not sleep.

In maaṭṭaan the negative is expressed by the suffix -a- before third person -a. Note maaṭṭeen : I (will) not, where, ~ -e- occurs before first person marker -e- maaṭṭoom, where, ~ -o- occurs before first person marker -o-. maṭṭiir, where, ~ -i- occurs before second person marker -i- and maaṭṭaay, where, ~ -a- occurs before -a-, the second person marker. ∞-aad- occurs before second person marker -ee- in singular imperatives; ooḍaadee : (do-)n't run, before Relative participle marker -a, ooḍaada : that which (does) not run, and before verbal participle marker -u- as in ooḍaadu : without running ∞ -aadu occurs after stem kuuḍ- : kuuḍaadu : not possible and ∞ -aam occurs after stem veeṇḍ- as in veeṇḍaam : not needed.

4 The negative morpheme -a- has the following allomorphs in the earliest stage of Tamil (PuRanaanuuRu) and the latest stage (Naanjiḷnaad dialect) :—

{-a-} ∼ -e- ∼ -i- ∼ -a- ∞ -aa- ∞ -aat- ∞ -al- ∝ -aal- ∝ -il-

{-a-} ∼ -e- ∼ -i- ∼ -o- ∼ -a- ∞ -aad- ∝ -aadu- ∝ -aam-

With this picture let us look into the analysis of Caldwell, Jules Bloch, Subrahmania Sastri and Alfred Master.

5.1 In p. 471, Caldwell[6] says that -a- is the sign of negation which is most systematically used by the Dravidian languages in the formation of the negative voice of the verb. It has, it is true, disappeared from the conjugated forms of Tamil and Canarese. The negative -a- being succeeded in Tamil and Canarese by the initial vowel of the pronominal suffix, appears gradually to have got incorporated with it, and an evidence of this incorporation survives in the euphonic lengthening of the pronominal vowel in Tamil'. In essence we are very near to him though we have stated it differently.

5.11 But there are certain observations of Caldwell which are questionable. (1) in p. 469 he says that 'the Tamil-Telugu-Canarese negative is altogether destitute of signs of tense'. It is not the whole truth. Caldwell himself cites uṇḍ-il-ei (p. 475) : You (sing.) did not eat, where the -ḍ- denotes past tense. The tenseless negative form will be uṇṇalai or uṇṇaay. Among the negative allomorphs it is -il- which occurs after tense markers. vaaḷntileen, vaaḷkinRileen, vaaḷkileen : I live not with past present future tenses. (2) He treats -mai as a verbal participle marker (p. 471). But -mai is capable of taking case signs of which, verbal participle markers are incapa-

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[6] *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* by Caldwell, Third Edition, Reprint, Madras University, 1956. The purpose of this and the continuing series of articles is to review this reprint.

ble of. We cut it as -amai and it is a noun forming suffix for us. (3) In p. 472 he derives the Relative participle ceyyaada from ceyy+aa+du by adding to the verbal participle sign du, the Relative participle marker -a- and the -u- as usual in elision. The du in the negative verbal participle forms, according to him, is the formative of neuter nouns of quality. Therefore one can infer that according to Caldwell, the neuter nouns have given rise to verbal participles which in turn have become Relative participles by the addition of appropriate suffixes at least in their negative voice. This we consider as the result of wrong segmentation. The Relative participle form uṇṇaakkudirai freely alternates with uṇṇaada kudirai : the horse which has not eaten. This furnishes proof that -aad and -aa are the same. There are conjugated nouns like uṇṇaadoon : He who (has) not eaten. If they are segmented as uṇṇ+aa+d+oo+n i.e. stem+neg.+neuter+third person+sing. number and masculine as Caldwell has done, where ever -aad- occurs, it will rudely change the pattern of verbs and conjugated nouns. The number gender markers always follow the person markers in verbs. Here they precede and follow the person markers. Another question is, has ever a neuter singular suffix been followed by a masculine singular suffix in Tamil ? So, we have segmented -aad- as the negative marker. Again it is the same wrong segmentation which makes Caldwell to say that 'Dravidian imperatives are in general nothing but verbal nouns pronounced emphatically' (p. 473) because of the forms like ceyyaadee : (do)n't do it. This wrong splitting has also misled Caldwell from appreciating one of the most precious of his findings that not only stems, but also, verbal nouns serve as the verbal base and take tense or negative suffixes. Sey(g)al-aadaar : they (will) not do (p. 475) is segmented by him as cey (g)-stem+al (negative)+aadaar (pronominal termination). Instead we treat -al- as the verbal noun suffix followed by -aad-, the negative marker, -a- the third person marker and -ar- as the plural marker.

5.2 Jules Bloch[7] is brief in his comments on negatives. He says in p. 66 that 'Dravidian has a purely morphological means of expressing the negation; it is the intercalation of a vowel, generally -a- (sometimes reduced to zero) between radical and termination. But in the personal verb, -a- in contact with the terminational vowel has disappeared; the result is that the negative verb is characterised only in relation to the positive by the absence of the temporal suffix'. He also cites kaṇṭeen - kaaṇeen. The distribution of personal marker -ee- in affirmative verbs is not the same as in the negative as pointed out earlier. In the former it occurs after tense markers and in the latter after the verb stems. If one posits a zero, as Bloch suggests in all verbs having personal terminations, it will be unnecessary and uneconomical. A zero negative will occur before first, second and third person markers. In effect, this zero will not be a zero of something but something will be of this zero. According to him, Tamil and Kannada express the negative like the affirmative and as a result, it is confusing. He cites 'kaaṇeen': 'I have eyes' and 'I do not see' which is an error. It has two different stem alternants; the first is kaṇṇeen and the second is kaaṇeen.

5.3 Of the four, Subrahmania Sastri[8] has intimate contact with Tamil. He breaks the negative formation into six types and presents them in p. 192.

(1) al between the root and personal termination.

(2) al or il between tense sign and personal termination.

The example cited by him, kaṇ-ṭ-il-an : I have not seen (Puram 202-2) is not to be found in PuRam (Ed. third).[9] Except for the single form poorppittilatu already

[7] *The Grammatical Structure of Dravidian Languages* by Jules Bloch, Deccan College Hand-book series 3. Poona, 1954.

[8] *Comparative Grammar of the Tamil Language* by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Tiruvadi. 1947.

[9] Prof. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri in a private communication says that he made use of the Second Edition of PuRanaanuuRu. I could not get this edition.

shown, it does not occur any where in PuRam, though, this form is very common in later day literature. The second example, CiRantanRu (PuRam 75-5) should be interpreted as an affirmative because, al has not occurred after tense markers and all similar forms in PuRanaanuuRu have been interpreted as affirmatives by the commentator.[10]

(3) Periphrastic usage of al and il stems.

(4) -a- between the root and the tense -tu-. He cites aakaatu and mutalaatu from Tolkaappiyam Eḷuttatikaram, 71 and 65. The meaning is given by him as 'it will not become' and 'it will not commence' respectively. For us -a- will be the negative marker, -a- third person marker and -tu- neuter singular marker. Note also negative -a- has not taken anywhere in the clear cases, a tense marker after or before it.

(5) By adding personal terminations directly to the root. Here he has not indicated whether the negative function is marked by a zero. In any case, the shortcoming of this has been pointed out in section 5.2.

(6) By lengthening the -a- of roots like var and adding the personal termination. Even affirmative forms have the stem vowel lengthening as in vaariir: You (plural) please come. It is not for expressing negation.

5.4 Alfred Master[11] who has examined the negatives afresh in a painstaking article identifies four types of formations in p. 140.

(1) The neutralizer type is by adding stems -al- and -il-.

(2) The -aa- suffix and the -aa- infix found only in Tamil and Malayalam. In this he deals about the ques-

[10] He says that it should be treated as an exception in his private communication. But I see no need for that.

[11] *The Zero Negative in Dravidian* by Alfred Master published in the Transactions of the Philological Society 1946. My attention has been drawn to this article by Dr. A. N. Narasimhia, the veteran Dravidian Scholar of Mysore.

tions, giving rise to a notional negation. He cites veeṇṭum : veeṇṭaam : (will) not desire and says -aa- is the negative marker. What then is the function of m ? a future tense marker ? or a plural marker ? or -aam- as a negative marker freely alternating with -aa- ? We have preferred the last.

(3) The zero suffix as Jules Bloch has posited. But a consistent lengthening of the pronominal suffix has been very effectively brought out in this section by his paradigm. Like Bloch, he points out the confusion between the affirmative and negative verb forms. He cites viṭaay : leave thou, which is morphophonemically viṭ+ θ +aay and the θ is an alternant of the future tense marker -v- or -b- Viṭaay can freely alternate with viṭuvaay : leave thou (future). Now it is not the same as the negative form which is viṭ-a-a-y : leave not thou. In Puuṇeen : I (will) not wear and I have the ornaments, the stems belong to two different distributional classes ; one is a verb and another a noun though historically they might be one and the same form. It is convenient to treat them as two different stems ; one taking the tense markers and the other taking the case signs.

(4) The negative particle which is formed in the non-literary languages Kurux, Gondi and Brahuii. In the first two, the author says, it arose under the influence of Indo-Aryan languages and in the third it is the borrowed Iranian -na. He leaves out this because it is not Dravidian in origin.

6. To conclude, the negative morpheme in Tamil is -a- and it serves as a morphological means of expressing the negation consistently.

The Existence of Adverbs in Tamil

KAMIL ZVELEBIL

1. It often happens that for a long time we keep and repeat opinions expressed authoritatively by great and brilliant scholars without careful and critical scrutiny. One of such cases is the problem of the existence of adjectives and adverbs in Dravidian languages.

It has been generally accepted that Dravidian does not possess " true " adjectives and adverbs. This opinion has been supported especially by the great authority of Jules Bloch : " Mais il n y a pas d'adjectifs proprements dits en dravidien." A. Master (JRAS, 1949, p. 106) and T. Burrow (BSOAS, XII. 1, p. 253) have rightly objected to this statement. This fact was admitted in a note in the English translation of Bloch's fundamental work (Poona 1954) ; however, the note said further : But J. Bloch says : " Adjectives are nouns inflected in case and gender in congruence with other nouns."[1]

This, then, had J. Bloch in mind when he wrote about " adjectifs proprement dits ". According to my view, Bloch's definition is a typical instance of mechanic application of definitions and terminology from Indo-European to Dravidian. Such " Indo-Europeanisation " of Dravidian structure is inadmissible. The conception of adjectives as " inflected nouns in congruence " is a typical conception of

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[1] Bloch himself quotes a few instances from Gond and Kannada showing the adjectives in agreement with a noun ; in Early Old Tamil, too, some instances may be found. I am well aware of the fact that this phenomenon may be explained as Indo-Aryan influence ; it may be, however, explained also syntactically : the adjective in agreement was originally in the relation of asyndetic apposition with the noun, so that a case like Bloch's Kannada *iniyal kadale* " sweet beloved " may be explained as apposition " the sweet one, the beloved ".

classical Indo-European. According to my view, the definition of an adjective in Dravidian should be as follows: An adjective is a word further unanalysable into lexemes, expressing some fundamental quality, syntactically in attributive construction with a noun which it precedes.[2]

Are there, in Tamil, words which may be defined in this way? The question may be answered in the affirmative. Such words are called by the ancient Tamil grammarians பெயருரிச்சொல், which may be translated "noun-qualifiers". They are treated under the general head உரிச்சொல் "qualifiers" (cf. *Tholk. Col.* 782, *Nhannu:l* 442).[3]

Adverbs, i.e. "verb-qualifiers", are termed வினையுரிச்சொல். In this short contribution we shall try to elucidate the problem of their existence in Tamil.

2. Much depends on the way how the question has been put. If we ask: Are there any adverbs in Tamil? we have to answer this question in the affirmative. As

[2] Cf. in this connection the definition of adjectives in Kolami by M. B. Emeneau, Kolami, p. 31: "An adjective is a word that syntactically is in *attributive construction with a noun which it precedes, but that does not* agree with the noun in gender or number."

[3] Tamil grammarians describe the language almost always according to the contents and conceptions, ignoring mostly the form. Cf. நன்னூல் 442. It would be certainly wrong to accept today all their notions and ideas without a critical correction. Nevertheless, the fact that they treat adjectives and adverbs as a special class of words and denote them with the characteristic term உரிச்சொல் is itself very significant. In this connection it is necessary to observe some important facts: the ancient Tamil grammarians do not use the term பெயர், *nomen,* noun, when speaking about adjectives and adverbs, but the more neutral சொல், word; thus it is clear that they do not consider உரிச்சொல், qualifiers, as nouns, but as a separate class of words. H. Beythan quotes in his *Praktische Grammatik der Tamilsprache,* 1943, p. 130, note 1, Ruckert, who translates in the Ms. of his Grammar the term உரிச்சொல் as "vox proprietatis, i.e., adjectivum." Cf. உரி-மை, ownership, disposition, quality.

If we accept the characterisation of Tamil as an "attributive, determinative" language, there arises another important problem: which class of words seems to be "more original" in Tamil, substantives or adjectives? It is usually accepted that the adjective had been derived from the substantive. However, maybe that Ruckert (quoted by Beythan *op. cit.* 130, note 3) was right when thinking that the process of derivation was from the adjective to the substantive.

far as the function is concerned, syntactically and functionally, there are in Tamil and in all Dravidian languages many adverbs, i.e., a syntactic class (Gleason : adverbials) determining the action or state expressed by verb.[4]

The question has been put, however, in a wrong way. We should formulate it thus : Are there in Tamil any etyma unanalysable in further lexemes, which have fundamentally the meaning of an adverb ? That is : are there in Tamil any adverbs as a separate class of words ?

The existence of adverbs in Tamil and Dravidian is generally denied. Let us analyse some Tamil adverbs from the point of view expressed in our question.

First, a great number of adverbials are obviously substantives by origin, used as adverbs such as

முன் s. that which is first or chief, eminence > adv. in front ;

பின் s. back, rear part > adv. behind, after ;

புறம்பு s. exterior, outside > + -ஏ adv. outside, out ;

அருகு s. nearness > + -ஏ adv. near ;

படி s. step, degree, disposition + deictic இ- > இப்படி in this manner ;

உள் s. interior, inner part etc. + -ஏ > உள்ளே adv. inside. All this is well known.

Secondly, some Tamil adverbs are foreign loanwords, such as :

தினம் adv. daily < Skt. *dina* s. day ;

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[4] What else than an adverb is, let us say, *மிகவும்* in the sentence *மிகவும் ஸந்தோஷப்பட்டேன்* or *இப்போ* in *இப்போ வாருங்கள்* Syntactically, functionally, they are doubtless adverbs, even if we recognise in them substantives or infinitives of verbs. Therefore there is no point in avoiding the term adverbs or in putting it into inverted commas when describing the language in its syntactic system or in textbooks.

சரி adv. rightly < Pkt. *sari* < Skt. *sadṛṣa* similarity (TL) ;

சுமார் adv. approximately < s. an average < Pers. *shumār,* number.

Thirdly, a great number of adverbs is of verbal origin, mostly infinitives or adverbial participles of verbs, e.g.

மெல்ல adv. softly, slowly < inf. மெல்லு–to chew, masticate < மெல்–adj. soft, tender ;

கிட்டே adv. near < inf. கிட்டு —to draw near ;

ரொம்ப adv. much <நிரம்ப inf. < நிரம்பு–to be full ;

மீண்டும் adv. again < adv. part. மீள் —turn + -உம்

Lastly, the refl. pronoun தான் is used adverbially in the sense of " truly, really ".

However, there are some adverbs, which are further unanalysable into lexemes.

1. இங்கு here, அங்கு there, எங்கு where ; it is obvious that the basis of these adverbs is the deictic vowel : இ-, அ-, and the interrogative எ–. What is -ங்கு? According to my view it is necessary to analyse இ- ங- கு- : -கு is nothing else that the dative suffix -கு with terminative connotation. ஈங்கு, ஆங்கு, ஊங்கு (cf. Kannada *hīge,* in this manner) ; in this case, either the original இ-, அ- was lengthened, or, which would be perhaps more plausible, the original deictic vowels of Proto-Tamil were long (cf. Tel. *ī, ā,* Kurukh *ī, ā,* Brahui *ī,* (*d*)*ā* etc.)

These adverbs are further analysable into morphemes, but *not* into lexemes ; in the historical development of Tamil, they had *always* the meaning and function of adverbs, they were always *verb-qualifiers* (வினையுரிச் சொல்). They are adverbs by origin, formed from deictic and interrogative elements இ-, அ-, எ- plus terminative dative -கு. Thus they are " true " adverbs.

2. The theory about the dative -கு being used to form original adverbs in Tamil is well confirmed by the adverb ஒருங்கு, altogether, simultaneously. It is formed similarly as அங்கு.

ஒரு "one" plus dative -கு > "(joined in) to one",
"(coming) to one",
"(changing in) to one".

The substantive ஒருங்கு entirety, totality, was formed from the adverb, and the verb ஒருங்கு- to be one, concentrated, to join together, is a denominative from ஒருங்கு n. singleness, entirety. According to my view, all adverbs, ending in -கு, may be analysed as some smallest unit of meaning plus dative கு. Thus, e.g., பிறகு adv. "afterwards, after" > பிறகு s. back, rear, is to be analysed as பிற n. other things + dat. -கு. Not as clear as that is the case of உடங்கு adv. together, closely. It certainly is connected with உடன்-ஏ adv. together with, altogether, immediately. This word is not used usually as a noun, however, it may form a pair with உடம்-, உடல் s. body (cf. மரன் : மரம்), (cf. also Kannada *oḍan* : *oḍambi*, *oḍal*). The basic root of all these words may be உட to be close, near, united, put together.[5]

3. There are a few adverbs formed from the deictic இ- in yet another way than by the "dativisation". இனி adv. now, immediately, presently ; hereafter, henceforward may probably be explained as an intensification of the idea expressed by

இ- "proximity in loco et tempore" : இ- + ன் + இ ;

இன்னே adv. now, here, thus < perhaps இ + ன்ன் + ஏ-emphatic ;

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[5] The description of dative as a case expressing motion, change, transition, as a case with dynamic force, was given in Dative in Early Old Tamil by K. Zvelebil, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. II, 1958, 1, 54-65. Bearing in mind this fundamental "transitive", "terminative" character of dative we may easily see why it is used to form adverbs in Tamil.

இன்னும் adv. still, yet, again, more than this, also perhaps இ+ன்ன்+-உம்;

இன்னம் adv. perhaps < *[innem]* < இன்னும்.

These adverbs, too, must be regarded as original, "true" adverbs; they are unanalysable into further lexemes, they must have been formed as adverbs. With the help of deictic vowels, a number of adverbs have been formed, however, they seem to be adverbs derived from substantives, e.g. அங்கண், இங்கண், உங்கண் < அ+ங்+கண் orig. "that place, this place", இம்மை < இ+மை orig. "this-ness" (cf. மறு -மை), இவண், அம்பர் etc.

4. நனி adv. well, abundantly, much, used as adverb in Early Old Tamil, cf. நனி வருந்தினை *Akam.* 19. 1-2 "thou wast much afflicted", prob. from adjective base நல் - good + deictic இ-, cf. modern colloquial Tamil மழை நல்லா பெய்தது "it was raining abundantly". Thus, நனி would be also an original adverb.*

3. Concluding we may say: almost all Tamil adverbs (or better: adverbials) are by origin substantives or verbal forms, used as adverbs. However, there are in Tamil a few etyma, not analysable in smaller units of meaning, not analysable in any other classes of words (parts of speech), used in the language since its traceable beginnings as verb-qualifiers. These "true" adverbs denote fundamental conceptions of time and place. As a separate class of words, adverbs are very scarce in Tamil. However, bearing in mind extra-Tamil affinities of these words and the primitive, fundamental conceptions they express,[6] we may conclude that these adverbs of a single

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* May be rather நன் + இ > நனி or நன் + றி > நன்றி > நன்னி > நனி ?

[6] Cf. Parji *ana,* there, *ina,* here, with their alternations *ini, ani,* further *it, at, ut,* in this direction, in that direction, Mal. *ini* henceforth, yet, still more, *innu* here, Kol. *ini* and, Kota *in,* other, Toda *in* other, hereafter, *inm* yet, Kannada *innu* still, yet, more, Tulu *nana* yet, still, Tel. *ika, inka* hereafter, still, yet, Kurukh *nanna* other, Mal. to *nan, nane* id., Gond *ani* and, prob. Brahui *anna,* still, yet.

type, formed from the deictic element (and interrogative -எ) plus dative -கு or nasal with reduplication of the basic element or plus -உம், belong to the fundamental lexicon of Proto-Tamil. They are the following adverbs: இங்கு, அங்கு, எங்கு, ஈங்கு, ஆங்கு, ஊங்கு, reduced to a single type: ஈங்கு; இனி, இன்னினி, type: இனி; இன்னே; இன்னும், இன்னம், இன்னமும், இன்னுமின்னும், type: இன்னும். Perhaps also நனி, ஒருங்கு, உடங்கு, பிறகு.

News and Notes

TAMIL ACADEMY FORMED IN TIRUCHI

An academy of 49 Tamil scholars, drawn from different parts of Tamil Nad and called "Tamizhaha Pulavar Kuzhu" entirely free from politics, was formed on the lines of the famous ancient Kadai Sangam at Madurai, for the growth of Tamil language, literature and culture, on the occasion of the 60th birthday celebration of Muthamizh Kavalar K. A. P. Viswanathan on November 11, 1958 at Tiruchi, at a meeting of Tamil scholars hailing from several districts of Tamil Nad.

Spreading Tamil literature in foreign countries by sending Tamil scholars and artistes, advising the State Government on all matters relating to Tamil language, prescribing text-books in Tamil and forming text-books committees, aiding the Universities in the selection of really eminent persons for conducting researches in Tamil and serving as an authoritative body for translating Tamil classics and literary works in foreign languages, are among the aims of the new organisation.

Five scholars with doctorate degrees in Tamil, five pandits from the Madurai Tamil Sangam, seven representatives from among each of post-graduates and masters of literature in Tamil, vidwans and pulavars, and one from each of eleven institutions, totalling in all 49 persons would form the new Pulavar Kuzhu. The eleven institutions are : Madras and Annamalai Universities, Karanthai Tamil Sanga Pulavar College and similar institutions in Madurai, Tiruchi, Mailam, Tiruvaiyaru, Dharmapuram, Tiruppanandal and Melasivapuri, and Santhalingaswami College in Perur (Coimbatore district).

It was decided to collect Rs. one lakh for the new organisation, at the rate of Rs. 5,000 from each, and Mr. K. A. P. Viswanathan announced his contribution of Rs. 5,000.

The meeting also deputed a committee of the following five leaders to wait in deputation on the Chief Minister and Finance-cum-Education Minister of Madras State with a view to getting Government patronage and help in the matter : Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar, M.L.C., former Chief Minister; Mr. V. V. Ramaswami, M.L.C., of Virudunagar; Dr. E. P. Mathuram, M.L.A., Municipal Chairman and President, Tiruchi Tamil Sangam; Mr. T. Dorairaja Pillai, M.L.C., Secretary of Tiruchi Sangam; and Mr. K. A. P. Viswanathan (Convener).

Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar presided over the public function held at the Municipal Thevar Hall. Mr. K. A. P. Viswanathan and his wife Srimathi V. Subbulakshmi Ammani were taken in procession from his residence to the Thevar Hall, where there was a large gathering present. After a clarionet performance for about an hour, the president gave a brief history of Mr. K. A. P. Viswanathan and his work for the promotion of Tamil, and described him as a savant of Tamil with devotion to God and straightforwardness of character, as enunciated in the *Kural.* Mr. Viswanathan had demonstrated how an ordinary person engaged in trade, as he had been in Tobacco business all these years, could rise to eminence by his own dint of hard work and integrity of character, the President added. — *The Hindu*

NEED TO ABSORB FOREIGN WORDS

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Education and Finance Minister, said at Madras on November 23, 1958 that the development and growth of any language depended on its flexibility.

The Minister, who was inaugurating the open session on " Dravidian languages " on the third day of the Kerala

Sahithya Parishad Sammelanam at "Vallathol Nagar", Teynampet, emphasised the need for adopting international terminology for expressing scientific and technological terms by the Dravidian and other group of languages in India.

Dr. A. Chidambaranathan, M.L.C., presided.

Mr. Subramaniam, in the course of his speech, stated that Madras City had set its pattern of life for the whole of India, because it had shown how people belonging to different language groups could live in harmony. Though people of the Dravidian group had their own way of life and differed from one another in some respect, still it could not be denied that they had all come from the same stock. Further it would also be clear that the language and culture of the neighbouring States had also influenced them very much.

The Minister narrated at length how various languages in the Dravidian group had developed and absorbed some Sanskrit words and said simply because they had adopted some Sanskrit words, they could not say that these languages ceased to be Dravidian languages. It also did not mean that they had lost their identity, provided these languages were able to digest them properly and make them their own while expressing thoughts. All the languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese, had absorbed some Sanskrit words, but Malayalam had adopted many Sanskrit words. If our languages had the inherent strength and if they were capable of developing, they should not at all be afraid of absorbing foreign terminology. At the same time in the process of absorption they should discriminate what was good and bad and take in only suitable words. Today English occupied a pre-eminent position among the languages of the world, because of its flexibility in character.

Referring to the views entertained by certain people who were against borrowing foreign words, Mr. Subra-

maniam said that such an attitude of " isolation " by some puritans could not help them in any way to develop our languages. If they adhered to their suggestions, could they call themselves as those belonging to the group of Dravidian languages ?

Adverting to scientific terms, Mr. Subramaniam said that he was always stressing the need for expressing scientific thoughts and latest development in that field through the regional languages. People could make rapid strides in the field of science also, if they were able to understand modern thoughts through the regional languages. While admitting the fact that regional languages had a vast field to cover compared to English in this sector, he would also suggest that the Dravidian languages and other languages of the country should adopt international terminology for expressing scientific and technological terms. Any attempt at disapproving such methods would only lead to disintegration of the country and of the people belonging to different groups.

Dr. A. Chidambaranathan, in his presidential address, said the various languages of the country could be compared to a nice jewel set with several gems shining with lustre. He warned against the people showing hatred and malice towards other languages in their anxiety to develop their own languages. Integration of culture and language should be taken smoothly, for such a happy blending of various languages, art and culture would ennoble their ideas and thoughts. He suggested to the research scholars to make a comprehensive survey of dialects in the country and requested the Union Government to associate authors and writers from the Dravidian language groups in the panel of judges constituted in connection with various all-India scholarship and other competitions. He was of the view that writers should be given freedom to express their thoughts, provided their writings did not in any way endanger society and pleaded for creating Chairs for the

various Dravidian languages in all the States in the southern region.

Mr. K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal*, said the art and literature of Malayalam should be made known to the people of Tamil Nad by the scholars of Kerala. In the same way, they could also do some research to know how far the ancient Tamil language and art had influenced Malayam art and language.

Mr. P. Jeevanandham said though Tamil language and literature had developed to some extent, it had not developed so much during the last 10 or 15 years as compared to Malayalam literature. Writers and authors of Malayalam should know the niceties and sublime thoughts expressed by Tamil writers and in the same way, writers belonging to the latter group must understand the greatness of the former.

Messrs. Venkatramayya, M. M. Bhatt and S. Gupthan Nair, representing Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, spoke explaining the close affinity among the languages belonging to the Dravidian group. Mr. Thapi Dharma Rao said the Aryan languages had been greatly influenced by the languages of South or the Dravidian group of languages and expressed the hope that the conference would foster closer cultural contact among different linguistic groups.

Earlier, Mr. K. N. Ezhuthachan welcomed the Minister and others.

—The Hindu

ROLE OF MUSIC SABHAS

Inaugurating the thirty-second annual conference of the Madras Music Academy, at Madras on December 20, 1958 Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, Governor, exhorted its Expert Committee to take appropriate steps for bringing down dance, drama and music to the masses and said that culture, music and fine arts should not be confined to a limited

few but should become broad-based, permeating the main body of the people, so that the people in general might be benefited by their elevating influence.

Mr. Medhi paid a tribute to the efforts of the Music Academy in resusciating and revitalising music and fine arts and said that it was the duty of such institutions not only to preserve and enrich our culture, music and fine arts but also strive for their development in all aspects. He felt that the Expert Committee should concentrate their research work not only on musical compositions and ragas but also on the evolution of different styles of music. He was sure that the origin of the several ragas of the different styles and schools of music in our country could be traced to a common source and this was really a binding force, he added.

After prayer by Srimatis Visalakshi and Hemavathi, Mr. K. Soundararajan, Secretary, said messages had been received from the Governors of Bombay, Orissa, Assam, Punjab, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh, Maharajas of Travancore-Cochin and Bhavanagar and Ministers of Union Government and from foreign musicians and musicologists, who included Dr. Henry Cowell, Dr. Mantle Hood and Dr. Jaap Kunst. Mr. J. C. Mathur, Director-General of the All India Radio, in his message, has stated that the Music Academy had restored dignity and prestige to the profession of music artistes, and the research work done under its auspices had contributed substantially to a proper appreciation of our musical heritage.

— *The Hindu*

TAMIL WRITER FELICITATED

Ministers and writers offered felicitations to Mr. M. P. Somasundaram (Somu), the new President of the Tamil Writers' Association, at a function held in Mylapore, Madras on December 19, 1958.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Minister for Finance and Education, said the Tamil Development Council constituted by the Government would give all help to Tamil writers in their work. He said the Council would begin functioning in a few weeks.

Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, said he was sure that Mr. Somasundaram would do great service to Tamil writers and Tamil language during his term of office.

Mr. T. S. Chockalingam, who got up the function at his residence, welcomed the guests and read a message of good wishes from Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Mr. V. Swaminatha Sarma, out-going President of the Association, paid a tribute to the literary attainments of Mr. Somasundaram.

Replying to the felicitations, Mr. Somasundaram appealed for the co-operation and help of the members in making his term of office as fruitful as possible.

Mr. Kannikannan proposed a vote of thanks.

—*The Hindu*

BOOKS FOR NEO-LITERATES

The closing function of the third literary workshop for neo-literates in Tamil Nad held at Coimbatore from November 12, 1958 for six weeks came off on December 23, 1958 at Chandra Textiles, Peelamedu, when Mr. K. Srinivasan, Director, SITRA, delivered the valedictory address.

Mr. G. R. Govindarajulu, correspondent of P. S. G. Colleges and Managing Agent, Pioneer group of mills, welcomed the gathering.

Mr. B. R. Krishnamurti, Director of the Workshop, presenting a report, said that Peelamedu had the honour of being the venue of two literary workshops, first in 1955

and again now. The reading materials produced by the trainees in the first workshop had been published and they had earned the appreciation of all. The entire period of the workshop was divided into three stages. In the first stage, the trainees, 40 in number, were taught the principles and techniques of adult education and the methods of writing books for neo-literates. In the second stage, the trainees produced various types of literature. In the third stage, the literature produced was tested on the neo-literates. The trainees produced three grades of literature, folders ('Madal'), booklets ('Chuvadi') and books ('Nool'). A folder contained six pages containing 150 to 200 words, a booklet consisted of 12 to 16 pages of the demy octavo size and a book in crown octavo consisted of 32 to 48 pages. The reading materials produced in the workshop should be such as would cultivate and promote independent reading among the neo-literates. The trainees were able to prepare 35 folders, 42 booklets and 38 books during the period of training.

The period of six weeks stipulated for training was not adequate as only from the fourth week onwards would the trainees be able to have an impetus to prepare materials, Mr. Krishnamurti said Tamil language should have a list of 2,000 to 3,000 words of familiar vocabulary like the basic Hindi vocabulary prepared by the Hindi division of the Ministry of Education and the literature prepared for neo-literates should be within the framework of this vocabulary. A research centre should be opened in Tamil Nad as was done by Jamia Milia, Delhi, which had produced about 800 books covering a wide range of topics suited to the tastes and interests of adults. He wanted the trainees not to rest content with the literature they had produced in this workshop which was only the beginning but to continue to be enthusiastic in this creative task.

—*The Hindu*

THE MADRAS STATE TAMIL DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH COUNCIL

The following is the text of the Madras State Government Order constituting the Tamil Development and Research Council :—

G.O. Ms. No. 297 *Education dated the* 16*th February* 1959

ORDER :

Under the Madras Official Language Act, 1956, it has already been declared that the Official Language of the State of Madras shall be Tamil. The Government have also constituted a Committee to advise them as to the steps that should be taken to implement the provisions of the enactment referred to above. The above Committee has taken up the translation work of the departmental codes, manuals and forms. This Committee cannot, however, extend its activities to the manifold branches of Tamil Literature. Further a beginning has to be made with concrete measures to implement the intention of Government to introduce Tamil as the medium of instruction in colleges. If this is to be achieved it is necessary to make a preliminary survey of the problems involved and take decisions on the nature of courses and institutions in which the change is to be brought about. Decisions have to be taken regarding the successive steps to be taken on the preparatory measures and also on the time schedule in respect of this proposal. Further, cheap and popular books in Tamil have to be published and brought within the reach of everyone. The efforts of different agencies engaged in the printing and publication of Tamil manuscripts and of conducting research have to be co-ordinated. It has, therefore, become necessary to constitute separate agency for the development of Tamil language in all its aspects, including the co-ordination of the measures taken by the Official Language Act Implementation Committee within its own field with all other measures for the development of the Tamil language.

2. The above proposal to constitute a separate agency for the development of Tamil was placed before the Madras State Education Advisory Committee and it was suggested that the body may be called the Tamil Development and Research Council. The State Education Advisory Committee approved the proposal and

recommended the names of certain institutions and organisations to be represented on and certain individuals to be nominated to the Council to be formed. They suggested the inauguration of the Council on the 26th January, 1959 and the Council was accordingly inaugurated on that day by the Governor of Madras.

3. The Government accept the recommendation of the State Education Advisory Committee and hereby constitute a Council, which will be called the "Madras State Tamil Development and Research Council", consisting of the following members :

Chairman :

1. Sri C. Subramaniam, Minister for Education.

Members :

2. Sri C. N. Annadurai, M.L.A.	Representative of the Madras State Education Advisory Committee.
3. Sri A. Vedaratnam, M.L.A.	Representative of the Madras State Education Advisory Committee.
4. Sri P. Savarimuthu, Lecturer in Physics, St. Joseph's College, Tiruchirapalli.	Representative of the University of Madras.
5. Sri T. M. Narayanaswamy Pillai, Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University.	Representative of the Annamalai University.
6. Sri M. Ananthanarayanan, I.C.S., Director of Legal Studies.	Representative of the Official Language Implementation Committee.
7. Sri K. Somasundara Desigar, Deputy Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments.	Representative of the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments.
8. Sri M. P. Somasundaram, President, Tamil Writers' Association.	Representative of the Tamil Writers' Association, Madras.

9. Sri M. K. Shanmugam, M.A., L.T., Principal, Sir Theagaraya College, Madras.	Representative of the University Teachers' Association.
10. Sri S. Jagannathachariar, Head of the Department of Tamil, Vivekananda College, Madras-4.	Representative of the South India Teachers' Union, Madras-28.
11. Sri K. Palaniappan, 48, West Masi Street, Madurai.	Representative of the Madurai Tamil Sangam.
12. Sri C. Vedachalam, B.A., B.L., Honorary Secretary, Karanthai Tamil Sangam, Karuthattankudi.	Representative of the Karanthai Tamil Sangam, Karuthattankudi.
13. Sri E. Govindaswamy Pillai, Tamil Pandit of the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore.	Representative of the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji Saraswathi Mahal Library, Tanjore.
14. Dr. E. M. Subramania Pillai, Secretary, No. 5, Goschen Block, Government House Estate, Madras.	Representative of the Presidency Tamil Sangam, Sankarancoil.
15. Dr. S. G. Manavalaramanujam, 'Baghya Govind', 188, Poonamallee High Road, Madras-7.	Representative of the Academy of Tamil Culture, 15, Mukathal Street, Madras-7.
16. Prof. R. Viswanatha Aiyar, M.A., B.O.L., Honorary Curator	Representing the Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar Library, Madras-20.
17. Sri T. S. Avanashilingam Chettiar.	Representing the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, University Buildings, Madras-5.

18. Sri N. D. Sundaravadivelu, M.A., L.T., Director of Public Instruction, Madras-6.
19. Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D., S.T.D., Lecturer in Education, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya (Ceylon), Chief Editor, *Tamil Culture.*
20. Sri D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S., Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
21. Sri K. R. Srinivasan, M.A., Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Temple Survey Project (Southern Region), Madras-9.
22. Sri T. Chandrasekharan, M.A., L.T., Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, University Buildings, Madras-5.
23. Sri P. R. Srinivasan, Curator, Archaeological Section, Government Museum, Madras-8.
24. Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai, B.A., B.L., D.Litt., Prof. of Tamil, University of Madras, 10, Second Main Road, Gandhinagar, Madras-20.
25. Sri A. Chidambaranathan, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.C., Sorakalpet, Cuddalore, N.T.
26. Sri K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal,* P.B. No. 604, Madras-4.
27. Sri M. Varadarajan, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D., Prof. of Tamil, Chellammal Street, Aminjikarai, Madras-30.
28. Sri M. P. Periaswamythooran, Secretary, Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, University Buildings, Madras-5.
29. Sri M. S. A. Majid, B.A., 34, First Main Road, Gandhinagar, Madras-20.
30. Sri P. Jeevanandam, C/o. Communist Party of India, 15, Perianna Maistry Street, Madras-1.
31. Dr. S. S. Bharati, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., 'Malaiyaham', Pasumalai P.O.
32. Sri V. Ramalingam Pillai, Namakkal, Salem District.
33. Kumari Masillamani, M.A., L.T., Vice-Principal and Head of the Department of Tamil, Women's Christian College, Madras-31.

34. Kumari R. Rajamani, B.A. (Hons.), L.T., Lecturer in Tamil, Queen Mary's College, Madras.

35. Sri S. S. Vasan, Editor, *Anandavikatan,* 151, Mount Road, Madras-2.

36. Sri T. P. Meenakshisundaram, M.A., B.L., M.O.L., Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, Chidambaram.

37. Sri K. A. P. Viswanatham, Tiruchirappalli.

38. Sri M. P. Sivagnanam, 1/29, Irusappa Gramani Street, Madras-5.

39. Sri E. R. Nedunchezhiyan, M.A., 'Arivakam', 24, Suriyanarayana Chetty Street, Royapuram, Madras-13.

4. The functions of the Council will be as follows :—

(a) To keep under review the progress of the work done by the Official Language Act Implementation Committee ; and to co-ordinate that work with other related activities in the field of development of Tamil.

(b) To arrange for the systematic copying of all the inscriptions in the various temples in this State and arrange for publishing the same according to a planned Time-schedule ; and to co-ordinate this work with the activities of the Ephigraphical department of the Government of India.

(c) To arrange for the systematic study of the antiquities of pre-historic and historic periods of Tamilnad and to co-ordinate this work with the activities of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.

(d) To co-ordinate and develop the activities of institutions and libraries, where unpublished manuscripts are available, co-ordinate the work relating to editing and printing on the basis of a planned time-schedule.

(e) To co-ordinate and develop the activities of all agencies at present engaged on the production and the publication of popular reading materials with a view to develop the reading habit among the people ; and to co-ordinate this work with the programme of Public Library Development, especially in villages.

(f) To arrange for production of children's books in Tamil, to arrange for their distribution and to co-ordinate this work with a programme of library development especially in villages.

(g) To promote the study of folklore.

(h) To arrange for the preparation of a complete descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the custody of all institutions in the State and indexing subject-war, author-war, etc ; to arrange for the compilation and publication of bibliographies, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, basic vocabularies, etc. ; and to take all other steps necessary for promoting systematic study and research into ancient manuscripts.

(i) To take such other measures as are necessary to develop the Tamil language and to spread its use as a vehicle for all transactions both in the educational and other fields.

5. The Council should ordinarily meet at approximately quarterly intervals. The Chairman may, however, call for a meeting of the Council whenever necessary or at the request of any member of the Council. Members may suggest any subject for inclusion in the agenda for meeting by giving three week's notice of the same. The agenda for the meeting should normally be circulated to members at least a fortnight before the date of the meeting.

6. The Health, Education and Local Administration Department will provide the secretarial facilities likely to be required by the Council.

7. The Council will be treated as a State level Council and the Members will be eligible for the travelling allowance and daily allowance as prescribed for the first class Committee. The bills of Members other than M.L.A's. and M.L.C's. will be countersigned by the Secretary, Madras State Tamil Development and Research Council. (The Secretary is Sri Kannayan.)

8. The Council shall be deemed to have been constituted with effect from 26th January 1959.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF TAMIL

A project has been set up to prepare a historical grammar of the Tamil language in the near future in Prague and Moscow. A group of Soviet scholars from Moscow and Leningrad will work in close collaboration with Dr. Kamil Zvelebil of Prague who is the founder of the project and the leader of the team. Preliminary work should be finished according to the plan within the next six years. The first phase of the work has been started already by excerpting Early Old Tamil texts, the *Tirukkural*: and some early inscriptions.

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Extracts from Letters

A BRITISH SUBSCRIBER WRITES

"....Let me mention in this connexion a rather amusing experience I had at a recent conference of orientalists at Manchester University. In the course of a paper on certain excavations in China, the lecturer spoke of an "unknown language" found among certain Chinese inscriptions, and passed round among the audience a photograph of what he referred to. A glance at the plate showed me that the "unknown language" was known to me and I blurted out "Tamil". But before I could examine the writing at close range, the gentleman who had taken possession of the plate said he would refer it for decipherment to the specialist in Tamil at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Dr. John Marr, and passed the plate back to the lecturer. But the matter has not ended here, for on page 176 of the current issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society I find a reference to an "unidentified language" found in a Chinese inscription that makes me wonder whether this inscription is the same as the one now with Dr. Marr for decipherment."

*　　*　　*　　*

"The day after I wrote to you came a copy of the Bulletin which I am sending to you under another cover because of the absence in it of any mention of Dravidian Studies. No wonder, therefore, that Tamil was an "unknown language" to many at Manchester at our last conference....."

Books Received

மெய்கண்டார் அருளிய சிவஞான போதம் (எளியவுரை)

—க. அரங்கசாமி முதலியார். சாது அச்சகம், இராயப் பேட்டை, சென்னை-14. பக்கங்கள் 44. விலை 50 ந. பை.

4000 ஆண்டுகட்கு முன்னர் வள்ளுவர்

—புலவர் செந்துரைமுத்து. வள்ளுவர் பண்ணை, பிராட்வே, சென்னை-1. பக்கங்கள் 81. விலை ரூ. 1.50.

அறநூல் (உறையுடன்)

—சுகவனம் - சிவப்பிரகாசனுர். பதிப்பாளர்: ஜகதா அண்டு சன், திரு. வி. க. நகர், சென்னை-11. விற்பனை உரிமை: பாரி நிலையம், 59, பிராட்வே, சென்னை-1. பக்கங்கள் 204. விலை ரூ. 3.50. பரிசுபதிப்பு ரூ. 4.00.

ஜனநாயகம் (மாதவெளியீடு)

ஆசிரியர் வி. ஜி. சோமசுந்தரம், திருப்பாப்புலியூர். பக்கங் கள் 60. தனிப்பிரதி ரூ. 1.00. ஆண்டு சந்தா ரூ. 6.00.

TAMIL LANGUAGE: by Prof. S. Ilakkuvan, M.A., M.O.L., Head of the Tamil Department, S.T. Hindu College, Nagercoil.

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Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(„ card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex-articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(„ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
	ன	—	n	(„ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
	ர	—	r	(„ red)
	ல	—	l	(„ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(„ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard,* have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

(a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

e.g., பக்கம் - is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

(b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

e.g., பங்கம் - is pronounced pangam, not pankam
பஞ்சம் - „ panjam, not pancam,

(c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

e g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the **exact** pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l–	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ി to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ீ to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle ு, a vertical stroke । or a loop ു to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ o:	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A cct · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.

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